

Freedom of Education Black Guerrilla Army

The Afro-American Liberation Army is a revolutionary military organization. It grew out of the contradictions caused by the criminal direction that Huey P. Newton and the rest of the "Peralta Street Gang" has taken the Black Panther Party, which is now no more than a low level "Mafia" organization diverting and confusing the people's struggle.

So recognizing the fact that the BPP had completely divorced itself from the military aspect of the struggle in Babylon, certain revolutionaries saw the necessity to organize the AALA and to educate, by example, the Afro-American people in Amerika. For too long, revolutionary guerrilla warfare has been projected as something in the far-off mystical future. Even though the physically and mentally violent oppression that people suffer is not in the far-off future, but here and now, and so must our solution be here and now.

Much of the work in this pamphlet was written by Elmer "geronimo" Pratt, a revolutionary now imprisoned in Los Angeles on trumped-up murder charges. Though we realize that Geronimo is a righteous revolutionary and his example is important in terms of our education, just as the example of Eldridge Cleaver and many other comrades is important, here we would like to make it clear that we understand the incorrectness of any hero worship. It is important to note here that most people relate to heroes in hopes that a perfect hero will lead them in the right direction and save them from the necessary study that all revolutionaries must do. In terms of heroes we have one philosophy and that is a philosophy that has been prevalent in all revolutionary struggles whether it be China, Cuba, Vietnam, the Peoples' Republic of the Congo or any other struggle. This is, you name children, programs, and places only after dead heroes. *Their politics don't change.*

The Afro-American Liberation Army is not a regular army but a guerrilla army. Consequently, it has no central headquarters that directs. It is directed by revolutionary principles and is made up of small units that are knowledgeable of the particular area in which they operate. True to all guerrilla operations, each unit is not aware of any other units' actions unless they are directly involved. The major requirements for membership are adherence to progressive, revolutionary principles and above all, action.

Like progressive organizations all over the world, (Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam, Uruguay, Northern Ireland, etc.) it is time for our forces here in Babylon to attack, attack, attack...

DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN



L.A. Shoot-Out Before and After

The motivation of the enemy in their constant dehumanizing acts of fascist repression against my comrades and myself are characteristic of the same old Counter-Revolutionary tactics that can be seen in every Progressive-Revolutionary struggle against an Oppressive Order. At the discretion of the Oppressor, those tactics are sometimes modified, dressed-up, intensified and more often, stripped naked, in order to keep the people in a frightful slum-sion. But here in the belly of this Amerikan beast, the enemy has unleashed all of his mad-dog puppets in his desperate attempt to destroy us completely.

Just as the Amerikan war mongers infiltrated many just struggles for liberation around the world with their corrosive elements, our recent activities reek of the same foul odor of Counter-Revolutionary Resistance. Many comrades have courageously dealt meaningful and successful blows against the enemy. Some making the ultimate sacrifice, others having been captured by the enemy and locked deep in the various dungeons around the U.S. and abroad. Still others have been kidnapped and held for king's ransoms. It is in the light of these righteous Revolutionary Warriors that I offer this script

Exactly three years ago, (January 17, 1969) our esteemed leader and Defense Minister "Bunchy" was assassinated by the US organization puppets of the L.A.P.D. About two months later, comrades Blue, Long John, Freeman and myself were branded by the Amerikkkan mercenary troops as being the chief coordinators of the Revolutionary activities of this area. During this time, the 77th Street sub-station of the community imperialist occupying troops made up a pool as a reward for any of their mad-dogs that "tossed Blue-Freeman-Long John-Geronimo." Wanted posters displaying our pictures were placed on their bulletin boards. Shortly thereafter, Blue and I were kidnapped, which they justified by charging us with murder. This was a regular practice of the fascists, sometimes charging us with robbery, burglary, assault .etc.

But on this particular occasion, after being booked on 187 Penal Code (murder) and awaiting transfer to Central Jail, an elderly turnkey came and told us that the dude who did it had turned himself in, and that the murder charges against us had been dropped; but that we were being re-booked on possession and that our ransom would be \$1,000 each. It wasn't until the preliminary hearing that we learned the 'possession' was a group of explosive devices that we had never seen before. At that time we were seized again in the courtroom (railroad station) and held for more ransom (\$25,000). The primary reason for this particular detention (aside from the ransom) was because we were having a large rally the next day to raise the level of consciousness of the people and raise funds in support of the people's Community Programs.

In May, 1969, search and destroy squads of the occupying troops invaded our offices and homes under the pretext of serving warrants on Long John, Blu, Freeman, myself and provocateur agent Julio Carl Butler. We were seized and charged with kidnap, assault and robbery, resulting from a piggish plot devised by the agent Julio in conjunction with his fellow cohorts of the L.A.P.D.'s US organization to shoot us in a vicious cross. Presently this ex-deputy sheriff, Julio Butler, is still out on the street, implementing this treacherous C.A.I.-type practice on others. His latest assignment concerning me was a shrewd lying and deceptive

testimony in front of the L.A. Grand Jury in their five attempts to GAS ME. By December 8, 1969, comrades Blue and Freeman had been kidnapped and charged with a robbery (which after 11 long months in the dungeon the charges were dropped; Long John had been held for ransom ranging from \$25,000 to \$100,000; and I had been a victim of three murder attempts by the mercenary mad-dogs following the sneaky ambush on our headquarters (December 8, 1969) (facts of which will be forth-coming in a book titled "Bunchy"). I was held captive in lieu of \$500,000 ransom, and even though the fascists tried to murder us in our beds, we were charged with conspiracy against them.

Some two months after the ambush, Blue, myself, and three other comrades were attacked by about 12 barbaric guard of the P.O.W. camp. Seven of the barbarians were hospitalized and we were indicted by a grand jury alleging that "Panthers attacked deputies in L.A. County Jail". With help from many Conscious-Progressive people of the Oppressed communities, the ransom was paid off and we were released.

On August of that same year (1970) the hierarchy of our Mother organization (the B.L.A.-A.A.L.A.) assigned me to help spearhead our program of mobilizing the masses in the countryside. Armed with our firm ideological development and highly inspired by the recent release of Huey Newton, who was then a well-loved person in the B.L.A.'s political machinery, my comrades and I were gaining plenty ground in the accomplishment of our mission, when due to the newly-formed Newton-Hilliard clique and their partner Melvin 'Cotton' Smith, we were set-up, barely escaping slaughter, but nevertheless ending up in the Dallas P.O.W. camp. Following my return to L.A. by the fascists (via the fugitive slave act.) I was immediately indicted by the L.A. Grand Jury (February, 1971) for the aforementioned murder, (in which Julio Butler testified) which was said to have occurred in December, 1968, 3 years ago. Two days later, while trying to read the indictment transcript of this hideous accusation, I was attacked in my cell on maximum row by approximately 10 barbarian guards. I was beaten pretty badly, thrown into the hole, and charged with 3 counts of assault on a 'peace officer.' (three barbarians were hospitalized.)

The transcript was destroyed and it wasn't until 2 months later that I had a chance to read of the strange murder I was being accused of committing. Ever since then, I and my comrades have been constantly harassed, provoked, and placed in 'disciplinary confinement'. As of now, I am still in the old county jail, confined to this cell 23^{1/2} hours a day, under the watchful eye of two guards, one of which sits directly in front of this iron casket 24 hours a day. I haven't had any sunshine or seen the stars for seven months now. I'm not permitted to visit with anybody other than 'immediate' family and only the 'attorney of record', whom the judicial arm of this fascist oligarchy 'appoints' to my case. The letters I receive are always over ten day old, that is when I am allowed to have them. As it is with food, medical care, hot water (there's no hot running water here!) etc., etc. It's the same as the rest of these fascist P.O.W. dungeons, with varying degrees of de-humanization. In the words of Comrade George, This monster they have engendered in me will return to torment its maker, from the grave, the Pit - descending into hell won't break me, I'll crawl back to dog his trail forever - I'm part of a Righteous people who anger slowly, but Rage undammed." This is surely the day of the mad-dogs, so we must all be ardent fleas!!!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Long Live the A.A.L.A.

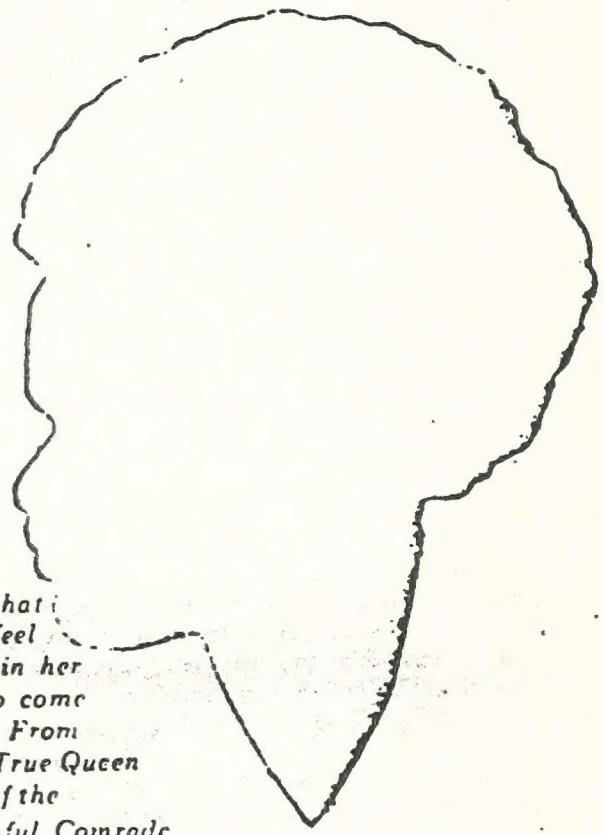
"WE CANNOT AFFORD OURSELVES THE LUXURY OF LIFE, AT THE EXPENSE OF FREEDOM" -Melvin X

Elmer G. Pratt
Geronimo

THE DEATH OF A Freedom Fighter

What words, what syntax is there that would suffice in describing how I feel about my fallen comrade, cradling in her precious womb a new generation to come that wasn't allowed to come forth. From the womb to the tomb. My Queen—True Queen of the Lumpen—High Commander of the Amazonian Army—My Most Faithful Comrade in Arms—Symbol of Complete Black Guerrilla Woman of the 21st Century—My Righteous Revolutionary Mate—My Other Half.

Through the many missions of valor undertaken, through your wit, sustained through your strong ties and love for our people, culminating in success and victory, through your rare leadership traits and the audacity, the excellence you showed in combatting and conquering the chauvinism in men, you endured and excelled. Complete Black Woman, pregnant on your sacred mission for eight months to bestow into our struggle a new warrior. I got your message, Soldier. I have always breathed you into me and my heart beat three times as fast as before. I am stronger—I shall endure. I will endure, as I've sworn on the grave of our King, Bunchy, my every action to the annihilation of the murderous, cowardous pack of immoral beasts. My love and dedication to you, Your Highness, will persevere in my existence. "We should hate our enemy with revolutionary love."



Savanna
Prest

Interview with L.A. P.O.W's

INTRODUCTION

The following was based on interviews made on several occasions with Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, and Roland and Ronald Freeman. Geronimo and Roland are two of the six brothers still held hostage in the old Los Angeles County Jail, while on trial for charges arising out of the attack on the Black Panther Party headquarters by the Los Angeles Pig Department. Recent testimony by former intelligence agent Louis Tackwood has completely exposed the assassin's role the LA pigs were playing as part of a nationwide assault against the Party being directed by the FBI.

On December 8, 1969, the brothers and sisters of the LA Panther Party held off the invading pig forces for five hours without suffering a casualty.

Ronald Freeman was being held at New County Jail in LA. Ronald has been unjustly held in captivity by the pigs for some twenty months on charges ranging from 1st degree murder to kidnapping to simple assault, of which he has not been found guilty. Yet, at the termination of each of the false charges, whereas he has proven his innocence, the pigs charge him with another bogus crime. This is due mainly to brother Ronald's long-standing membership in the Black Panther Party and his indefatigable spirit and ability to organize.

The interviews were held before and after the rebellion at Attica. A portion of the interview with Geronimo and Roland was made while they were on the same row, and the rest was made after they had been separated.

ON ATTICA AND THE STRUGGLE IN THE PRISONS

Roland Freeman: We followed the events on the radio. The brothers say: "Long Live the Spirit of Attica and Brother George Jackson". I trust there will be action not only in the prisons, but in the county jails because the level of consciousness is rising.

The massacre was a classic example of the extent the power structure will go to keep the people oppressed. The demands were just -- anybody who has been or is in prison knows that. The pigs showed the whole world their true face and had to keep its system running, and as usual it was Blacks and Puerto Ricans who bore the brunt.

There is tremendous progress being made inside the prisons. You don't have to be a revolutionary to be aware of capitalism and imperialism and the general oppression that goes along with it. You just have to open your eyes. People in Attica had a common lot. All were suffering from the prison system. They set some beautiful examples with the unity, the demands, the dug-in trenches. You would think they would act wild, free like that for a little while. But they got themselves organized.

From Attica, the struggle is going to be escalated, not repeated, escalated to a higher level. The prisoners have a higher consciousness than ever before. It was a new experience, and people in jails throughout the country can learn from it.

In taking consideration of the past three years, starting with Cleaver, Soledad, the Tombs, George Jackson, New Orleans, and Attica, twenty to thirty prison guards have been dealt with in California alone. That in itself will help to unify the inmates. The pigs try to play off white and Mexican against the others. But it don't make no difference who you is or what your color is, just what side of the line you're on.

The type of unity showed at Attica -- Black, Puerto Rican, and white -- you don't find it in the county jails. People haven't been there long enough. They are still thinking about their trial, and about getting out.

If prisoners want some justice, they're going to have to get it for themselves. No matter how much outside help you get. If you're trying for better rights, they'll keep you in -- and the more the struggle intensifies the more unity, real unity, will develop.

There has been a tremendous response here and in other POW camps. And there have been some changes. In prisons you can't receive things through the screen. Everything has to be X-rayed. Certain brothers were locked into maximum security for no reason at all. There used to be some little skirmishes between the brothers which were on the racial side - but the brothers are moving to more relevant issues that are political, rather than pimping, cars, etc.

Ronald Freeman: Most of the brothers coming out of the joint, if not revolutionaries, are potential revolutionaries. The jailhouse unmasks the viciousness and ugliness of the system. It throws everything at you, and gives you nothing. You come out and realize the system is corrupt - dog eat dog. They want to find solutions to change it. Basically, they would become violent revolutionaries. They see what keeps them in jail. They see a man with a gun in their community, how they keep it together with the gun, and that the only way to change it is through the gun. You can't tell brothers who have been in the jailhouse there is any other way. They won't go for it.

There are others who go for the money and end up back up here.

They have some heavy brothers in the pen, in the State pen, that they'll never let out, because they're studied or well-versed on what's going down in the U.S. The ones that would make good leaders they won't let out. There are hundreds of George Jacksons in State pens across this country.

More people are getting versed on communism. It's no dirty thing no more. Nine out of ten people you talk to here would prefer communism. They don't just talk about communism, like saying that if China comes here they will fight. If they say anything, it is that China will come here and free everybody.

People here start talking about communism. If he can't tell me what dialectical materialism means, he doesn't know anything about communism.

Most people in the jailhouse would rather go to jail than go in the service and fight for this country. Most Black brothers would fight here rather than go to jail.

When people talk about self-defense for Black people, what it means is that we are engaged in self-defense for the survival of Black people in general - not just from armed attacks, but from genocide, from racism, by any means necessary with whatever we have at our disposal.

We can't wait for nobody to run up - strike and hurt us. That's being done everyday.

People's consciousness is being blocked - like water. LA is supposed to receive so many dollars for jobs - a token to bring up peoples' hopes in the system. There's nothing there. We have to change the system totally.

Geronimo: Here at Old County Jail (Los Angeles) they have what they call "Panther Row". In March there were eight brothers there all indentifying with the AfroAmerican Liberation Army. (Note: At the time this interview was conducted the term Geronimo used was "Black Liberation Army". He has asked that it be explained that the reason it is now called AfroAmerican Liberation Army is that it is more descriptive than "Black Liberation Army" because it recognizes our connectedness with Africa, in terms of the history of how Africans were torn away from their homeland and how we, the descendants of those brought to North America as slaves, are joining, gun in hand, with our comrades, the descendants of those who were left behind to suffer under colonial and neo-colonial domination.) At 3 A.M. one

morning Sirhan Pete Pitch... had 50 deputies in. They vamped on us with teargas and shotguns. It was two days after I had written "The New Urban Guerrilla", and I was conducting a class.

After that I was placed in Sirhan's old tank where they tried to poison me, which failed because as a practice we discipline ourselves to stay away from the pig's pills, etc. Brother Ronald has already contracted tuberculosis due to the pig's treatment, and brother Ulysses who was poisoned.

PRISONS

Roland Freeman: The way I look at it, there was the struggle in the 50's and 60's- ban the bomb, then civil rights, demonstrations, riots, and then into Revolution. And now, the prisoners have taken the vanguard role in the struggle. Many of the "soldiers" are here in the prisons and continuing the struggle.

Once the people get a little consciousness, they strive for more. They've moved from demonstrations to open revolt. Everyday now something is happening in the prisons.

Any humane person can clearly see the situation, the contradiction between the prisoners and the power structure.

The struggle of Black people is an international struggle, so you're never out of it. All the struggles are related.

The prisoner has nothing to lose. He might be killed at any time. He doesn't have much hope. That's a very dangerous situation. If a person outside of this country can look at it, things here are in pretty bad shape. The situation facing the U.S. power structure is that they have to get rid of the revolutionaries in jail, but the structure can't handle it. Like cancer, the Revolution will spread.

If they continue putting revolutionaries in jail, they're going to make the revolution in jail.

The more the power structure attacks the people, the more the people continue to unify, unite, and begin the counter-attack.

Every action has a reaction. Some people think the struggle here in the U.S. is like a play, like it's not not the real thing. You make a mistake and you have a chance to straighten everything out. Well, you have a chance, but the real thing is already here.

A lot of Black people come down from Quentin and Soledad and tell us what's happening up there. Black people have been coming to visit their relatives in jail ever since we got off the boat. We communicate pretty good. The press publishes things one way, but it isn't that way at all.

The U.S. is the only country I know of that doesn't exile political prisoners, at least legitimately. Like Papa (Eldridge) and the others that were forced. The guards at Attica said that the government should let political prisoners go anywhere they want to, or the prison system will collapse because of the political prisoners. They know what they're talking about.

ON THE LUMPEN:

Geronimo: The lumpen has a higher level of understanding here in Babylon. They are the most advanced lumpen in the world, although some have been misdirected by capitalist ideology. But that is no longer a major obstacle. We have learned ways of dealing with that, and have the examples of George Jackson and Attica. Brothers and sisters on the street are on a higher level of receptiveness and understanding. Even Black workers are oppressed by the system for the most part and haven't been completely bought off. They may work on a job as a front for the "life", since their job doesn't pay enough to support a family.

One of the most ideal urban guerrillas comes from the "life" on the street (the last-

life, night-life, slick-life, etc.) They have been down, have hustled, played con. What we do is contain that energy, point it in the right direction and make them beautiful communist revolutionaries. In the confines of the "life", the brothers are communistic toward one another, but exploitative toward the rest of society. I consider myself an ex-lumpen of that caliber. I've been on stuff, OD'd, coke, speed, was into dealing, playing con, gaming in general, swindling in general. Most of the brothers have had to do that in order to get us some means of survival. So that we, from the start, know the pitfalls and the corrosiveness of the many poisons that are injected into our people's bodies both mentally and physically.

One of the main reasons the pigs have been keen on me is that I trained Special Forces at Fort Bragg and endured three wars (four now). When I got out guys were being offered high-paying jobs — including myself — by the CIA. What served me was my love for the "life" ... I had some women, did a little pimping and the rest. I was making big buck.

In '65, before Bunchy was murdered, a guy who had been in the service with me, but who chose to work with the government, was still dealing in the "life". He was a CIA agent. After our brief reunion — some two months later — he ended up dead in South America. I have other information on the operations of the high-powered pigs, which is one reason for them wanting to deal with me, also.

They focused on me because of the skills I obtained in the service and combined with the knowledge of revolutionary warfare. It isn't hard to analyze the enemy's actions by understanding the general laws of warfare in relation to the specific laws that govern our own situation. Like in L.A. we knew they were coming, but not when. They had killed Fred Hampton three days before, and Toure (Walter Pope) a couple of months before. I'd rather not expound on that.

There is a sharp distinction between the brothers from the South and the brothers from the cities. The brother in the city grows up around dope dealers, around the "life". He is familiar with the ghetto, and big city. He knows how to survive. In the country the lumpen is raised religiously, baptized, he's not ready for the city, not on the lumpen side. We have two people, one in the South and one in the city — 15 to 21 years old. The brother in the city is far more advanced in the area of political understanding, and has seen more brutality at the hands of the occupying forces of pigs and feels the brunt, the main aspects of dealing with them. The brother in the country is not too familiar with the "life" and its vices. He has religious hang-ups. He is easier to deal with, easier to organize. He doesn't have as much "unlearning" to do as do the children of the Black bourgeoisie. He is used to the farm, he can identify with the reality of the land, whereas the brother in the city is confused with the many vicissitudes of the "life" and its offerings.

The brother from the country comes to the city and learns how to deal, to deal dope, manipulate women, pimp women — but he looks at it from another level — not from survival, but as an art to eliminate the oppressor. The city lumpen looks at the gaming, at the pimping, as a tool to advance himself toward capitalistic goals.

We learn from experience that the brother from the South gets more deeply convicted, becomes more seasoned than the brother from the city. The city brother can be bought off. He becomes a freak for sex. The brother from the South can control it. The brother in the city never wants to leave childhood, while the brother in the South, by necessity, left it a long time ago.

But, all in all, the lumpen in Babylon are the most highly developed in the world. I wouldn't want to be nowhere else but dealing with the lumpen which the vanguard of our struggle are very much composed of.

When we started coming in contact with urban lumpen, it sparked antagonisms in the higher echelons of the party. David and Huey were not from the lumpen area, and Elaine Brown in particular. Like, as an example, Sandy Red, she is one of my revolutionary mates. (Note. Since the time this interview was done, Sandy Red was

brutally murdered because of her strength as a revolutionary. She posed a threat to the pigs and reactionaries and reactionaries, i.e. can't relate to the concept of marriage in the American culture. We don't have hang-ups there. We were going to a class that Eldridge was teaching on the woman question. When Sandy Red ran it down it was like a different language, clearer, more comprehensive. She has been effective in dealing with dope dealers, dealing with pigs, on the street. She's readily a much more potential revolutionary warrior, an indigenous, which is important.

We used to call Bobby Seale lumpen, because he thrived with the people so much. We recognize revolutionary intellectuals. The lumpen can readily identify with so-called intellectuals mainly because of a history of everyday constant contact with people from all strata of society. So that in that sense, when one defines, understands one can know how to relate. But, on the contrary, the so-called intellectuals don't have the vision (I call them: the children of the Bourgie — Huey, Elaine, etc.), the magnified scope, in order that he may be able to penetrate the somewhat extraordinary fibers that make the lumpen what he is. The so-called intellectual is unable to condescend and make those necessary ties that would surely bind us together indivisibly. So that — in dialectics, the unity of opposites — it is necessary for each entity to tally with the other. So what we've experienced under the Newton administration was a sort of peg-legged relationship between the lumpen and the bourgie intellectuals.

I'm trying to make it clear that the bulk of the liberation struggle in this country identifies with Eldridge and is lined up with the International Section, because the bulk is lumpen, and Papa is "King Lumpen".

ON THE MURDER OF GEORGE JACKSON

Geronimo: We see that as mainly a part of the continuous movement to eliminate the revolutionary vanguard in California prisons. We've had many very courageous brothers who have been eliminated before they were able to move into the spotlight. George was very much a leader in the prison struggle. Every inmate has been a student of his. We're continuing to educate along the lines that he laid down, and move on to a higher level of struggle.

Newton was very foolish in saying that George was killed in trying to escape at that time. They had planned to eliminate him. What really happened was that things got exposed beforehand, too quick, things related to brother George, information was let out that wasn't necessary.

It was through me that Huey met George, and as everything else, the puppet Newton nearly devastated that strong link between the prison struggle and the streets.

Ronald: The warden at San Quentin lies. Back when they struggled with Ruchell Magee, after the Soledad Brothers arrived, they said it was a race riot. They separated the prison population. All colors — Black, Brown, and white — were in the strike. The guards broke it up. White and Brown prisoners were sent to the lower yard, the Black prisoners to their cells. They divided the inmates to retain control.

What went down with George Jackson, or what they say went down, is impossible. You can't stick a piece under a wig. I believe they killed him.

If he was moving to escape — George Jackson, being a warrior, being a revolutionary, being a soldier, that would have been a bad tactic. You live to fight another day. However they did, they killed him.

Roland: Now that they found George Jackson was shot in the back, they say he must have fell. They're trying to keep it covered up.

ON THE SPLIT IN THE BPP AND THE QUEST

Gerowin: It starts from a dialectical understanding of leadership. There was a lack of political understanding and an insufficient military understanding on the part of the Newton-Hilliard clique of the Central Committee. The jist of what I'm trying to say is that in the political, as well as the military, we were gathering ground. But there were shortsighted moves from the Oakland clique which impeded our progress.

The pigs had to move in the political arena since they couldn't penetrate the military structure we had built. So they did it using Huey, who we related to at that time, and his followers and disciples. But we were able to salvage the military apparatus for the most part. We know that the military has to work in unison (a reciprocal thing) with the political. We are not ultra-leftists. We are putting much effort into clearing the air over the political arena that had been obscured by the Newton clique. Things are moving fast. We are very optimistic.

In the Party, when brothers and sisters had tried to relate to democracy in the three main fields — political, military, and economic — they felt they couldn't exercise in the military field. Every attempt to move was interfered with by David, Emory Douglas, June Hilliard, and Ray (Masai) Hewitt. We had organized effective cadre in those areas, but there were so many interferences that dissension began to occur. A large part of this was around the woman question. The women received a lot of antagonism from Emory, and the so-called Central Committee moved to annihilate the whole program.

They made a number of excuses to avoid dealing with the question. I was holding certain vital classes for the Central Committee, especially as to democracy in the military field. I was also trying to make them understand that when they were in other parts of the country they had to answer correctly, be competent politically, economically, and militarily. And that our struggle was a class struggle, not an ass struggle. (Note: Our Kansas City chapter had been fucked up because of June Hilliard's visit, at which time he used his position as Asst. Chief of Staff to fuck down near all the sisters in the chapter. The same with Masai in North Carolina, Conn., New York, Chicago. The same with David. The same with Emory !!!)

One time there was a discussion on weapons. When it came to the 45, Emory and David didn't know it had to be cocked. This is very fucked up for a leader who is supposed to be setting an example.

At this time, the attacks started against me. I want to show the stupidity that caused the foolish moves. For example, writings were never read by David and Emory, basic mandatory readings were never read.

Huey's bodyguard, Robert Bay, is completely apolitical. Three months before I left Oakland he didn't know the ten-point program, and he had been made a captain. I was against it.

Cotton Smith was sent down to me in Dallas. I didn't know of this before he came down. The strange thing was how he was able to manipulate his way around and the way the Central Committee accepted his lies at face value after he was busted. He reported a group of lies against me to the Party. Everything he is saying now in this case is particularly incriminating to me. He had to be assisted in this by some of his cohorts in Oakland.

Smith was a victim of a counter-revolutionary example which twisted and warped his mind. I knew it was unwise to relate to him and that he was a "flip-flop" type of dude on the pig side. ("Flip-flop" — ghetto terminology that defines a person who goes one way, then the other. Equivocates, vacillates.) I told the Central Committee, but Central said otherwise.

I found out later that Elaine Brown was the one who sent him down. We were trying to find out who sent him down, beside David and Huey. She wasn't supposed to know, to be dealing in that area. The troops I'd had dealing in that area had more

of an understanding of politico-military dialectics, and had the knowledge of the inner workings of the New York empire.

Each time I reported on these weaknesses, the reports I sent to the political arm were not believed. It was not accepted because of a lack of politico-military understanding in that area. Their evaluation was not based on political or military understanding, but on the whims of Huey, David, Nissai, whose minds were so preoccupied with sex that the vitalness of this quarter meant little to them.

In Dallas when I got busted, I didn't want to bring heat on Oakland. Then I started hearing fucked up information. I started sending information. I started sending messages to Huey through Luke McKissick (an LA attorney). McKissick told me he couldn't reach Huey. I tried to send messages to other brothers. Huey wouldn't accept a call from Dallas. This was just before their "open" attack on me in the Panther paper (Jan. 23, 1971).

An FBI agent called on me down in Dallas. I was about to spit in his face when he pulled out the Panther paper and showed me the article expelling me and calling me an enemy of the people. I didn't want to believe it. They hadn't even talked to me. We signed extradition papers to come back and deal with the thing. All this time we had received no support from the Party.

Within five days we were on our way back home. Then back in isolation for three days. They wouldn't let me go to the New County Jail or here (Old County Jail). I was in "protective custody" in the glass house at Parker Center (LAPD headquarters) while they were keeping Cotton at New County Jail to finish carrying out his big-lie mission. They were in the process of indicting me for a murder in '68 which I knew nothing about. Then I was sent to New County and they put me in maximum security. They sent Cotton to his new "home", as guest of Sgt Callahan of the LAPD. It was a hell of a job cleaning up all the lies that Cotton told about me. It seems that Elaine Brown has been playing along with Cotton, trying to protect him. She is highly suspect also.

On the second night at New County Jail, while trying to read the transcript of their hideous indictment, about 14 pigs jumped on me and threw me in the "hole" on B.A.A.C. (Bare-ass and concrete). Bread and water twice a day. My mind was in a hell of a grind. I tried to contact David, somebody to lend an ear. It was like I was already tried and convicted. When Papa contacted me, it was like a fresh breath of life. Eldridge told me that he knew what was going on, that the brothers were not expelled, that he would talk to Huey.

I was a member of the first cadre of the Central Committee. I just couldn't understand how they could take the word of a known liar without talking to me. After I heard of the New York thing (the purge of the NY 21), I tried to contact brothers and sisters in New York to say we were still with them. The majority of the brothers and sisters here are with us. The pigs are trying to implicate everybody that doesn't relate to Huey. We are concerned for our comrades in New York, Dallas, New Orleans, Detroit, etc., concerned for their welfare. Newton was a sham, a Massachusetts Candidate in reverse.

The comrades here like Paul Redd, Ike Houston, Jackie Johnson, Willie Stafford, etc., are molding themselves into capable revolutionaries, good examples of what we had started, what Bunchy exemplified. I am very much satisfied with the way things are coming out. Some of the brothers who were more familiar with military affairs are becoming more political here, writing and reading and teaching. It's not a one-sided thing. They are balancing out to become more complete, well-rounded, seasoned guerrillas.

ON THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Ronald: Huey caused confusion. What is the Black Panther Party? Why is all this going down. Before his recent position on Black Capitalism, he was against it. Instead of trying to support them, we should put them out of business. We don't need their support.

In the beginning we had a party of no compromise. When we tell people about oppression, jobs, etc., the change from capitalism to socialism, we don't distinguish between Black and white. If a man makes money off another man, that's exploitation, and we're against it.

There is a conspiracy by the system to bust true revolutionaries.. putting them in jail and leaving the "revisionists" on the street.

Huey once said that if the vanguard party was working for the needs of the people, it would be forced underground. There would be harassment and persecution, because in the struggle between capitalism and socialism, the capitalists won't sit idly by.

The brothers in jail are strong, they're lumpen. Huey can't speak to them. The way Huey talks now is like a big contradiction. But the brothers are relating to a solution through the barrel of a gun. They just can't sit around and be pacified like vegetables.

We relate to revolutionaries around the world. We see what they are doing in Brazil, in Uruguay, the Palestinians. They don't ask for money, they take it. Revolution is right on, either-or. Either the oppressed stop the oppression or the world will be destroyed, from capitalism to communism, from the dog-eat-dog to the collective. I do my bit and you do yours. You know, from each according to his ability to each according to his need.

Roland: The political significance of the attack on the Panther office (in LA) goes back to Black people's right to life, their constitutional right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, to the very core of having the right to life without the restraints that have been placed on us all these years, to stand in a crowd with our heads up.

When they came they showed a total disrespect to the Black community. They wouldn't let Black people out of their houses, they were shooting teargas into people's houses, pointing guns at women and children, and people going to work. The police came to kill, that's what they came for. It didn't make no difference who got in the way. They felt as though constantly degrading the people and putting people in jail would destroy our organization.

ON THE LACK OF SUPPORT IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY FOR THE LA 13 TRIAL

Roland: The lack of support is traditional. In all but a very few instances the people won't turn out to support. They go through such a struggle day by day to live that they really haven't the time to come to court. In addition, Black people know the courts are rigged, they know what's going to be done. Another reason is that the people don't know the situation. I don't think it is a question of a beating.

One way of slowing down what's happening in court is having people out there watching, to get as much information about the case as possible and talk to the people who are interested where they can't pick up a gun, or something like that. They can stand up in a courtroom and be counted. The pigs do react to public pressures when they see the public getting around. The only thing we have going is that the pigs are supposed to go by their laws. With the public observing this, they are more likely to go by the laws they wrote themselves.

An important fact that supports it is that there is due to the Panther Party. They haven't made any effort. There has been only one article in the paper. They are the only ones who haven't made any effort in that area.

ON THE BPP AND THE CHURCH

Roland: As far as the Peralta clique moving in that direction, the Black Panther Party has always moved in that direction, beginning with the Breakfast for Children which always took place in a church. The difference was that there was no compromise of our principles or ideology. We worked with them. We cooperated, like with the free breakfasts and free busing.

But the point of departure was on whose ideology, the church's metaphysical or our dialectical, we wouldn't compromise that. Neither the church or Black capitalism are solutions to the problem. For hundreds of years the church hasn't solved our problem. We have to do it ourselves.

We don't distinguish between Black and white pigs. It is a class struggle. Our problem is racism and we know that stems out of capitalism. There is a point of departure. Like Mao says, every class is stamped with a brand. We live in a class society. We recognize that for what it is. Just because a man is Black doesn't mean anything.

Malcolm X said, "Religion is between man and his god." I look at the world and the position of the church and can't go along with it.

(The Party) moving to Atlanta is a move on Newton's part to try and get some more money. I relate him to Jessie Jackson and the country preacher. I think the AfroAmerican Liberation Army is making it harder for him to stay in Frisco.

ON GIs

Ronald: When they get out of the service, this is where they come — jail. One guy, he was in Vietnam, he got five to life for armed robbery. They are in a position where they were ready to go. They understand they were sent over there to kill. They know they've been played off. When they get out they are much more aware of how they were used while in the service. A lot resort to crime — they don't fear dying and they don't fear killing. This country owes them something, and if they can't get it they just take it. They don't have no more hang ups about too much of nothing.

ON AMERIKKKA

Ronald: Then there is Amerikkka's technology. Here people are paid not to grow things. There is the technology here to take care of the world. People are starving and lack shelter. They can construct low-income housing from synthetics, and yet they still don't do it. No profit in it. Technology has just one function — to serve the betterment of mankind. We just have to turn the whole thing around. The have-nots will rise up and take from the haves, and the last shall be first.

Some people, they're hung up on the unknown. When you talk about change from capitalism to socialism, they don't know what will happen. They only know what they got.

"How come you ain't doin' nothing, man?"

"I got to live."

Instead of the people working to change the system, they'd rather work 40 hours. Rather than move against the oppressor, they prefer tokenism.

ON THIRD WORLD REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE U.S.

Roland: They would have to understand revolutionary principles and follow them, and not follow the line of the Nation clique. They are waiting to check it out. Huey hasn't got much up his sleeve. He has clearly gone astray from the revolutionary theory of Mao, Che, and Fanon, who laid down the known guidelines which have to be used and applied. You have the guidelines. You can see when a person has gone astray. It's nothing new. It's simply a person who has gone astray.

To third world people who follow principles laid down by revolutionaries like Mao, etc., they have to compare their positions with the revolutionary positions. They could follow the guidelines — but they have backed down. They must be picked up and carried to higher levels. People are going to make up their own minds. If it keeps you from doing what you want to do, you have to act and let others follow your example. When we talk of revolution we don't talk of robots — we talk of people finding out what's happening and moving their struggle. Most of the people involved already know revolutionary principles. They should be able to judge by actions.

The Chicano Liberation Front is setting some beautiful examples. The police are so upset they're shooting each other in East LA. They are setting some beautiful examples of what direction things should go.

We have all paid a big toll to get the knowledge that we did, to get to this level of consciousness and action.

For a third world group, the CLF is moving in the right way in the U.S. the Tupamaros are doing the job in Uruguay.

We look at the prisons. The only way we can succeed in our struggle is to fight for it. If people are willing to sweep the dust out of the corner, then they are willing to obtain their freedom. We cannot afford the luxury of living at the price of our freedom.

Even though I'm in jail, I know the struggle can do nothing else but intensify. It can do nothing but go forward. Things are at a lull. Then all of a sudden, someone blows up the capital.

Geronimo: When Huey went into the joint, who really built the Panther organization were brothers like Eldridge, D.C. Bunchy, and John, and many other unknown warriors. These were brothers who stood up to the pigs. We held Huey in high esteem and loved that man. But now he is negating everything he laid down, and we're not going for it. We see a whole lot of bourgeois tendencies, bourgeois mentality as opposed to the mentality of the lumpen. This seems to be some aberrations there also. A revolutionary party must struggle with its mistakes.

The pigs have been perpetrating all of this. We won't fall into the trap of fratricidal war. We'll move in a way to show the people the correctness of our position. But the killing of brothers Robert Webb and Fred Bennett was a heavy loss. And we are committed to our conviction that those who are guilty will be dealt with. And as for all those lies, we're committed to the concept of People's Tribunals to expose the lies that have been told to our people.

Ronald: Huey and his clan have broken off connections with third world people in LA. They are no longer concerned with the struggles of all oppressed peoples. They talk, but that's all. They have no communication with the Brown community. They don't work with the Chinese or Japanese-Americans. They have no alliance with any of the oppressed peoples. For the third world, the so-called Black Panther Party offers no solutions.

ON THE AFROAMERICAN LIBERATION ARMY

Geronimo: We view ourselves at this particular time as a political cadre of the AfroAmerican Liberation Army, which has roots buried deep in the annals of our history, starting with Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, and Toussaint L'Ouverture; up to Malcolm, Bunchy, and George. They've laid a rudimentary base for our revolution.

We see our task, in dealing with the courts, as to politicize as much as we can, effectively representing our comrades-in-bars, from Chip (on Death Row) to Dharuba (New York), and we see the necessity for regimenting our political arm to stay in tune with the military.

Just as Papa said after he began to view the problem from the underground: I also say there is no problem in organizing ourselves into an invincible force. It's a matter of understanding that we can defeat the enemy, not letting ourselves be fooled by his outward show of strength which covers his inner decadent, moribund weakness.

There are those who, like Mao says, "... work halfheartedly without a definite plan or direction... so long as one remains a monk one goes on tolling the bell." We want to deal with that. We feel as though we are extremely oppressed, and have to resist to the extreme. As brother George says, we need extreme measures to solve extreme problems. I don't prescribe half measures. Life without control over the determining factor is not worth the effort of drawing breath. We relate to thing in toto. In revolution on wins or dies, and that death becomes meaningful. We see brother George's death as meaningful.

Since the murder of brother George, security here has tightened ten-fold. The guards have viewed the actions of the pigs in Quentin as a P.E. class for them to justify their piggish acts. The murder of brother George had a tremendous impact on all the brothers.

AfroAmerican Liberation Army ideology is the collectivism of revolutionary principles learned from over 400 years of struggle — from Turner, Vesey, Toussaint, to brother Malcolm, Bunchy, Melville and George. That is the magnifying glass through which we study Marxism-Leninism.

Ronald: We want to politicize events in the community — what's happening. Showing the oppression and repression, not just resistance but reaction. Like, a landlord moves to evict somebody — the landlord is evicted out of the community, and the land becomes liberated territory. Or, a grocer doesn't sell adequate goods, and what he has he sells at high prices. We go and take the groceries, dealing with the needs of the people. As the police move as an occupying force in the community, they will receive the consequences lit-for-tat, or maybe tat-tat-tat-tat.

The days of talking are over. People have been talking about problems too long. The time to move was yesterday. Anything we do, we're behind. We don't worry about being ahead of the people. We must wake the masses to deal with the problems, to correctly analyze what is going on in the community and the rest of the world, that Amerikkka is not isolated. People around the world are moving. Basically, people here know things at a general level. They read the mass media, but they don't know what's happening in the third world. ... The people make history. They have to be brought up to date on what's going down and they'll deal with it.

ON LEGAL DEFENSE

Geronimo: We see that our defense should be set up on the same level as that for Angel and the Soledad Brothers — all progressive movements, all revolutionaries coming together. We'd like to pull together one defense for all political prisoners. A true united front. There are many other unknown prisoners, like one brother in Soledad with 32 murder cases, all in self-defense.

About three or four weeks ago some brothers came down who had been in Quentin, Soledad, and Folsom, and had done time with Eldridge and the others. They gave over \$100. to the P.O. Box the Newton clique uses for the case. We looked into it. A lot of funds were sent to this box and we didn't know about it. The Newton clique is using this money for their own interests.

We have brothers and sisters struggling on the streets to maintain support trying to get some people to relate to some of the brothers here like Jackie Johnson and Willie Stafford. They're somewhat fresh from the South and have no family here and are a long way from home.

Newton is trying to maintain a smokescreen over our case. The "Movement" and movement lawyers have heard a lot of lies. They have been lied to, to a great extent. Newspapers have been blocked from interviewing us, as the Zionist Judge Dell has prohibited all reporters. All this is in conjunction with what the Newton clique has been doing.

We came to certain agreements with the four flunkies of the Newton clique. When we talked we came to certain prior agreements that were later violated, such as the wearing of Newton buttons, and their sleeping in court and not participating. We have some questions about operating in the judicial arm of the oligarchy anyway, but I won't go into that right now.

The flunky defendants with Huey identify with the Black bourgeoisie and don't seem to be worried. They know the pigs aren't shooting for them.

Ronald: I'm suing the city for false arrest, damage to character, etc. The pig who arrested me was from homicide. Worked on the case with the Metro Squad and the Crime Conspiracy Squad.

Since 1968, I've been arrested 20 times, charged with murder three times, attempted murder once, possession of narcotics twice, use of explosives and firearms with intent to commit murder.

I was busted on November 15, 1969 on a murder rap. I beat that and got out on March 31 this year. I was rearrested on April 13 on the counts of assault with intent to commit murder, two counts of battery.

In April, 1970 they put some 50 people stripped naked in a small cell. They tried to put me in, but I wouldn't go. I said to the deputy, "This is inhumane. Why don't you put some of the people in another cell?" This was refused and they told me to go in again. I asked for the pig's badge number. The pig went to apply a wrist lock and only caught my thumb. Then in the scuffle he accidentally got struck in the temple and the mouth. The five dogs jumped me. That was the first case. In the second, I was sent to "Siberia" — that's Adjustment Center No. 1. There you can take showers when the guards open the gate. They can open the gate at any time, and you have to be ready. So on this occasion two out of thirty made it to the showers. I refused to go back to my cell until everyone could take a shower. Then I was jumped by four deputies.

They have to realize they can't treat humans as they want. They don't quit, working as overseers for their owners.

The system will fall, like feudalism does not coincide, like slavery, capitalism does not coincide with the people's basic needs. And the people are going to move to change it, not only in Amerikkka, but throughout the world — in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. When and how will be determined by the level of oppression and repression.

P.S. Geronimo: We send love and greetings to Eldridge, D.C., Kathy, Pete, Connie, etc., and all the brothers and sisters in Algeria, the Congo, and the rest of the third world. Tell them that all comrades send their love, warm regards, and spirit of togetherness.

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ON THE CONTRADICTION OF ORGANIZING SUPPORT FOR P.O.W.

We the members of the Walter "Toure" Pope Political Cadre of the AfroAmerican Liberation Army, currently on trial as the L.A. Panther Thirteen, Want You! Black people in particular and all revolutionary people in general to stop—look—and listen to the voices of the freedom fighters. What we have to say today may be your key to salvation tomorrow. The charges we are held on didn't stem from any crime committed against you—the people; instead their roots stem from the basis of our political views and objectives. Views that are held by the vast majority of Blacks here in racist Amerikkka. The same views that one day in the near future will cause you to become a victim of Babylonian "doomsday machine". Unless you make the move to sabotage this genocidal plot that we are victims of today, then you will be the victim of tomorrow's Jewish Massacre here in Nazi-occupied Amerikkka. Today we should wake up to the fact that Black people have no rights that the oppressor is bound to respect. So if we are to be men it is our duty to establish laws for Black people that will guarantee us our rights. Any laws the oppressor breaks, we then shall take what is ours while we are taking the heads of the oppressors.

The history of Black people here in Babylon is a history of a people struggling to free themselves from a colonial oppressor; whose barbarity and viciousness surpasses that of Nazi-controlled Germany, with its gas filled trenches and midnight firing squad. Because of the viciousness of the enemy and our firm determination to resist the enemy, Black people have thousands of political prisoners of war who go down in history as the truly heroic unknown soldiers whose sacrifices are long forgotten by many. Every Black man and woman held by the tens of thousands in concentration camps throughout Babylon today is a political prisoner. Due to the fact that we as a people are exploited and murdered by the pigs of the power structure because it is politically advantageous and economically profitable to do so. Locked out of the economy and without political representation, we are forced to go for ourselves and secure the basic things needed for survival by robbing, stealing and any other means at our disposal. Because we are not given due process of law and are tried under standards of "double justice", Black people as a whole are political prisoners. Realizing this, we as Black people must hail the banner of political prisoners and organize around the issue of freeing our political prisoners before we all find ourselves held in maximum security prisons.

Black peoples' political consciousness today is at an all time high; but just like the tides of the sea, it has tendencies to rise and fall at intervals when dealing with the issue of political prisoners. The so-called revolutionary sect are the ones who suffer the most from this upsey-daisy politically backward motion. The so-called revolutionary only raises the banner of freeing political prisoners when they find a case that is being widely publicized by the mass media. It is precisely at this moment that rats come out of the woodwork and all the chickens come home to roost. Voices from all sectors of the community can be heard speaking of the inhuman living conditions and the vicious treatment our people suffer when the cameramen and newsmen come around. But once there isn't anymore publicity to gain, the rats go back into hiding and the chicken turns back into eggs."

Huey P. Newton and his paper Panther Party are clear examples of how the monster, opportunism, strikes. The only time the mute voice of Huey is heard by the Black people is through the mass media. Check out the Angela Davis case and you can see how their part-time leaders are only available to the press and not the people. Angela Davis, who was just another victim of Amerikkkanism, is currently being ripped and torn by virtually every organization that feels it is profitable to

claim her while they totally neglect and deny hundreds of political prisoners ony legal or political support whatsoever.

A perfect example is our trial and how Huey and Co. usurps all the finances from the case. When the press had their cameras focused on the case they were always near. Once the cameras were gone then all support, legal as well as political, split the scene, and the monster of right-wing revisionism crawled back into the lair to await its next victim.

It is the duty and responsibility of Black people to dump these so-called leaders whose principle objective is to pinip the people. Black people must come together as a collective and organize around their political prisoners. All political trials are to be looked upon as one and the same because we are all victims of the same fate and no matter where we are. Black Liberation is still the issue that is on trial. Let us guarantee our people freedom by freeing all political prisoners and engaging in revolutionary struggle for all.

War and Peace,
Dare to struggle, dare to win.

Toure Political Cadre of the AALA

Willie Stafford
Isiah Houston
Jackie Johnson

Writ No. 2

Writ No. 2: ON THE HOOLIGAN RIGHT WING NEWTON CLIQUE AND THE FLUNKEYS

We the members of the Walter "Toure" Pope Political Cadre of the AfroAmerican Liberation Army, currently on trial as the LA Panther Thirteen, would like to take this occasion to make it explicitly clear that we no longer associate ourselves with Huey P. Newton and his little Black Mafia. We felt it a dire necessity that we state our position because we have been misrepresented time and time again, and the people have been misled onto believing that we are all in support of Huey P. Newton. This is mainly due to the fact that four of the defendants still adhere to the iron willed despotic rule of Huey P. Newton. These four automatons who go around wearing only the most expensive clothing and sporting Huey buttons have taken it upon themselves to be the spokesmen for our trial, but we want it to be heard loud and clear that they by no means represent us. Because we are the majority, we have no intention of letting these four people represent us at any time whatsoever.

Through the actions of the Huey P. Newton clique in their all out attempt to stifle the revolutionary progress of Black peoples' struggle, he has demonstrated he wants no part of the making of the American Revolution. He has also shown that he has no intention of allowing a revolution to take place; he has taken this reactionary position because he has gained prominence with members of the status quo of the

barbarous Babylonian society. Huey is now the power structure's chief means of funneling pig propaganda into the Black communities. History dictates to us, that if the pig power structure can't control Black people through the mass media (radio, T.V. and newspapers), then they'll control them through Black apologists. Prime examples of apologists are: Roy Wilkins, David Abernathy, A. Phillip Randolph and Huey P. Newton. These are the types of people who enter the Black struggle, wholly in support of the people. But through the use of threats of reprisal and fear of losing their possessions and their lives, they are bought off. Thus becoming the pigs major tool for controlling the mass majority of Black people.

History also dictates that Amerikkka is a power-mad nation and because this is the nature of the country, the vast majority of Americans are power fanatics, and will go to any length to obtain and maintain power. This is another reason for the position we take. Those of us who know and have worked around Huey, saw the change that has taken place. Huey changed from a revolutionary leader to a power mad nigger! Because of this counter-revolutionary change, Huey P. Newton was asked to step down from leadership. But like the power-mad right-wing revisionist nigger that he is, he sought to maintain his despotic rule. To do this, he had to systematically eliminate all opposition, by exposing the whereabouts of revolutionary brothers who were forced underground, and by means of murder, mutilation and castration. By participating in the murders of revolutionary warriors, Huey has proven he's not worthy of rank with any organization, reformist or revolutionary. Huey also proved himself to be a pig.

Taking all these facts into consideration and objectively weighing the positive and negative effects Huey has had on Black people, his negative potential far outweighs the positive. Recognizing these determinate factors, we say -- Huey you're dead as far as the struggle is concerned. As a warning to all potential Black revolutionaries, we say -- check out your mind because the struggle is no game and all phonies will be caught and eliminated somewhere down the line.

Struggle with determination!

"Toure" Political Cadre of the AALA

Willie Stafford
Jackie Johnson
Isiah Houston

NIGGERTOWN

By BUNCHY CARTER

In Niggertown, In Niggertown, the streets
are made of mud
Infested with rat and bat and bug.
In Niggertown, In Niggertown
The streets are made of brick
Ask any swinging dick that happens
pass
why don't he get up off his big
fat funky ass
the rumblin' snitch
For a "shot of shit"
For a dope-fiend bitch
Hid behind the cemetery
In the fog
A "Leg o' Hog"
A "Short dog", of elderberry
Misery spread brother dead
'cause 'charlie' done run him in the
red
In Niggertown one day,
Four lil' children knesled to pray.
In Jesus name Boom
Four lil' children gone and Jesus
Never came

So you say you're tired of
all this shit
You sucker-paul sonabitch
If you was you'll fall
your mitt
Do something Nigga
If you only spit
Tell the truth
Snaggertooth
I know ya scared
Ya motherf***ose
In Niggertown
with niggers
I'm fed up to my neck
about a drunk
A thief
A punk
I wouldn't give a husky
Bitch
In Niggertown

THE NEW URBAN GUERRILLA

The primary reasons for the tardiness of this message are threefold:

1. The incessant unceasingly brutality, harassment and solitary confinement imposed upon me by the guards of the POW (prisoner of war) camps in which I've been held captive.

2. The lingering faith that I struggled so hard to maintain, that members of the hierarchy of the Black Panther Party would consider our report of the matter in my purge) and

3. The dilemma produced, on one side, by anti-democratic diabolical attacks by those so easily inveigled fled-on, tricked, enticed, seduced, deceived, blinded, etc., members of the party; and on the other side, the ridiculous wrongful grand jury indictments conducted by the crafty quisling (betraying one's country, or cause, to the enemy in return for political power from the conquerors), Curtis Gaines, Melvin (Cotton) Smith and Julio Butler.

Firstly, I literally deny, denounce and spit on the vile allegations of these pigs and their 'tricks' in Oakland. The filthy lies that appeared in the issue of the Black Panther Newspaper, coupled with the accusations of my being implicated in some hideous crimes (which the forked-tongued pigs — Cotton and Julio — must have committed and one crime in particular which the pigs have tried to pin on the Panthers before) has forged a most cunning design for the double-edged sword of Amerikkken warmongers.

The double-edged sword shall not succeed in its obvious attempts to cut off the head of this, our new level of struggle for liberation. It is because of the apparent success of my underground venture that I was made no. 1 in the sights of the big guns of the Amerikkken Empire (FBI, CIA, etc.).

Realizing the gravity (seriousness) of the quandry (current state of hesitation, perplexity or uncertainty) and also realizing that there are matters that still weigh heavily in our favor, I feel the necessity to begin from this premise. It is my intention to offer more insight into the development of revolutionary warfare within the very heart of the world monster.

The feasibility of guerrilla warfare within the confines of this empire has for too long been doubted by too many so-called revolutionaries. It is my understanding, without doubt, that we can successfully slay this beast right now, operating from our own base right here.

The main reluctance to American Guerrilla Action is said by many to rest solely on caution (precautionary measures for the sake of an excuse to do nothing really effective). But there is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. It is no secret, because of the loose talk of revolutionary rocking chair critics, or because of the cop-outs of kneegrow (negro) informants that I effectuated a most comprehensive reconnaissance of the region (particularly) below the old Mason-Dixon line and (generally) the most part of Amerikkka. My findings, tests and personal endeavors rule unanimously in favor of establishing guerrilla bases, both urban and rural. This is an integral and necessary part of the overall freedom movement.

In dealing with the profession of warfare, especially when confronted with prime jingoists (those who expound patriotism and favor an aggressive military policy), it is important that the general laws, which govern our struggle, are understood. The general laws are based on a highly political evaluation which dictates the forms that our armed struggle must take. Therefore, the high, politico-military directorates of our struggle must possess both political and military skills. Otherwise, a profound and correct evaluation of overall, as well as specific, strategies of both our comrades and our enemies cannot be possible by our directorate.

The Amerikkkan war peddlers, many years ago, ignited a wicked war against our people — a war planned and manipulated by the fascist system of J. D. Hill and fronted off by their puppets: the KKK, White Citizens Council, etc. This was the nascent (beginning to exist or develop) stage of FASCISM in Amerikkka (note: *Fascism is a government system whose leaders, having complete powers, forcibly suppress opposition and criticism and emphasize strong nationalism and racism*).

Today fascism is bulging at the seams of not only this land but every country that Amerikkka sets foot on. Examples currently are S.A.Z. (Southeast Asia), Africa, Latin America, Middle East, etc. Our comrades in these liberation struggles are "sho-nuff" dealing with it.

When we oppressed people in Amerikkka entered the political arena, we were "hosed" (fire-hose), attacked by trained killer dogs, shotgunned, teargassed, unable to finance expert legal help in the courts, beaten-up, vamped upon by hundreds of SS troops (especially-trained SWAT Squads similar to Hitler's Storm Troopers), tied chained and gagged in courtrooms, beaten severely and many times murdered in POW camps (prisons), infiltrated by the oppressor's house-nigger spies, lynched, and handed token(s) e.g., a few dollars, training programs, poverty commissions, etc., run by the oppressor's own house nigger, who would guarantee to keep the "fool niggers and hippies" quiet and pacified.) From these and many other experiences, we have learned and taught the people, the uselessness of Amerikkkan policies in serving the interests and needs of all the people. As long as there remains, in the heads of the fascists, the idea that there is no profit in serving the needs of all the people, there will be no real concessions.

As we, the A.S.A.A. African Liberation Army, the military arm of the Black Panther Party, transcended (surpassed, exceed, etc.) that level of politics and moved to the stage of armed urban confrontation (Huey, Eldridge and Bobby Hutton - Oakland, 1967 to Los Angeles, 1969 shootout on Central Avenue), I observed the dastardly (cowardly, sneaky) reactions of many so-called leaders of our organization. Right before my departure to begin my underground mission, it became even more obvious. When I began to outline my plans to them, especially the mention on one Dixie Region State, they were sparked with astonishment and stood there agape (mouths wide open) and looking foolish. As I now look back on that day, I see clearly that those idiots, instead of understanding the validity (truth, need) for such moves, only looked at me in the light of a glory seeking adventurer.

The ground work for this, our new level of struggle had been meticulously laid (with extreme care and covering minute details), and understood, I thought, quite some time before my departure. My political evaluations then dictated the necessity for accurate armed actions as a means of freeing our political prisoners. My evaluation reports were submitted to the Central Committee (C.C.). Because of their indifferent attitude toward military endeavors they only acquiesced (quietly agreed).

In further evaluating the trap that the dogmatic members of the Black Panther Party fell into, in contrast to the general laws of our struggle, we first have to work from the age-old axiom (a self-evident and truthfull universally accepted principle or rule) of all warfare, put forth by the father of war, Sun Tzu, "Know your enemies and know yourself and in a hundred battles you will never be defeated."

The understanding of the enemy and his general laws pertaining to contemporary military affairs in America can be easily realized by understanding General Ilanon Magsaysay, whose text on counter-guerilla warfare, *Magasairin*, as I call it, has become the "war bible" of all American jingoists (for example: Eisenhower on "irregular Warfare"; Major General Thompson on "guerilla"; Thayer on "Counterinsurgency"). During the struggle of the Huk guerillas in the Philippines against the fascist regime, when the revolutionary warriors were nearing the apex of their success, the fascist military government in much desperation, employed an ex-guerilla named Ramon Magsaysay, Magsaysay, being well versed and trained in strategy and tactics of guerilla warfare, lost no time in training the pigs to the art of guerilla war. He expanded the technique used by

the fascists on him and offered the guerillas "complete force or complete following". In these early days of the revolution, he was a political or his initial counter-guerilla campaign, he was almost immediately promoted to the rank of General. The cunning, craftiness and manipulations of Mansaesi marked the beginning of the liquidation of the Black Guerillas.

Mansaesi is taught extensively in the war colleges of the anti-revolutionary camp. Mansaesi is based on the singling (use of deception or trickery) or guerilla tactics to work in the interest of counter-revolution, has been widely adopted and employed AGAINST the Black Panther Party.

Recent stupid decisions such as purges of the New York 21, Edridge Cleaver, myself, etc., and counter-revolutionary practices of the Oakland petty, conspiring Yankee, so-called leaders, are commonly used mansaesi schemes. It comes under the heading of PSYCHOLOGICAL UNDERMINING.

You can now see the devious plot which was effected. It ate away the cohesive moral fiber of a solid unit. But fortunately, it did not affect our new level of struggle, in fact, it aided us tremendously. I shall talk about that here.

The failure of the pseudo (make believe, fake) revolutionaries of the Black Panther Party to recognize the most obvious piggy plot to cut our organization to schisms, only proved to the majority of our organization, the inability of these so-called "standard-bearers" to properly deal with politico-military affairs. We will not play further into the pig's game by falling victim to fetish (blind affection or devotion to an object), actions. We will not get hung up in that, for it will be explicitly clear who's righteous and who's jiving, who's with us--against the enemy and who's against us--with the enemy. In short, who's for real and who ain't.

That's how we turn failure into success for now the shackles of the reclining chair pseudo revolutionaries, are no more. We are now able to move in the correct manner dictated to us by our practical politico-military evaluation of our present situation which is generally:

1. The freeing of our comrades held captive by the enemy.
2. The training of our warriors to properly deal with this highly technical monster.
3. The realization of peoples war.

Once you realize the necessity for guerilla actions in Amerikkka you arrive at the question of what makes up a revolutionary guerilla warrior. The intrinsic (genuine, true) character of any guerilla is composed of two integral parts, that he is at once both a political theorist and a military commander--a theorist and a pragmatist. He not only must be able to evaluate a situation, he must also be able to move on that evaluation, making it serve in the best interest of the struggle. That's mandatory for all guerrillas.

What makes the new American guerilla so unique is that he is the highest personification of flexibility in both thought and action. The basis of his flexibility is that form of dialectics (unity of opposites) that mediates his intrinsic components, thus creating the necessary dynamics that typifies our new warriors. He establishes the unity of two opposites (theory and practice), identical in nature but different in thought. It's like positive and negative electricity. The flexibility of the new guerilla is the key to our success here in Babylon, and thus ultimately the success of all the people of the world, for the guerilla of Amerikkka is in the heart of the monster. From this location he can stab the monster in it's vital organs.

Let's deal with both parts of the make-up of a guerrilla, one integral part at a time. First his pragmatic half--the word pragmatic comes from the philosophy of pragmatism which means to test all concepts by their practice or practical results. In our situation pragmatism is interwoven with the science of dialectical materialism put forth by Marx. We start from the practical half of the guerrilla because practice is primary and only through revolutionary practice can we derive a correct revolutionary theory. From the correct revolutionary practical activity in our present struggle for liberation (i.e. The L.A. shoot-out, hit and run tactics, sabotage, etc.) we are now able to evaluate the knowledge gained. This enables us to lay the theoretical groundwork so that our future

practical experience guided by correct revolutionary principles (truths). Practice is primary. Our practical experience analyzed correctly produce our revolutionary theory. Only those who participate in practical activity can develop correct revolutionary theory.

People can learn... to create the strategy, but the essential thing is the development of a revolutionary warrior in this new level of struggle. He must test the feasibility of the guerrilla-type struggle, in our very own situation, based on our very own proofs and endeavors.

The other half of the guerrilla: the theorist has for long been the point of departure for many pseudo-revolutionaries. I could easily go into a long dialogue on the jungle of opinion that makes up that funky quagmire of esoteric bullshit impeding revolutionary progress which encompasses revolutionary theories, but later for that, later for all those vacillating, equivocating cowards that just might have a most accurate perspective of our political situation but they'll never know cause the lack of testing ability to prove it. "Knowledge begins with practice and then return to practice." Theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illuminated by revolutionary theory. Practice-knowledge-practice again and again-knowledge: this form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to an even higher level. Such is the dialectical process of the unity of knowing and doing, of theory and practice, of mind and body, of thoughts and action. The additive to the new guerrilla is his ability to not only evaluate himself, but also to evaluate the next man-woman-his/her comrade and his/her enemy according to revolutionary and social and psychological guidelines. The various stages of cognition identified by Mao, the theory of psychoanalysis put forth by Sigmund Freud in "The Art of Introspection", etc. are the main weapons of the new guerrilla. These theories along with the guerrilla intuitive ability to know where "dudes is coming from," give the new guerrillas a distinct advantage over the enemy. The advantage of basic psychoanalysis resulting in the validity of Psychotherapy. And to us that's really significant. Mainly because of the many reprobates, psychopaths, ding-a-lings (or what ever you want to call them) that the pigs use as that form of psychological warfare agents. The new guerrilla armed with an analytical mind can deal with that. An in summing this up we can look at the validity of this from the many righteous sayings of our brother Bunchy, "Alan we have to be psychiatrists to deal with these fools" or "I'd be a fool not to know where I didn't stand". So that the flexibility manifested in the critical half of the new Guerrilla is to the dynamics produced by the dialectical process of his/her being at once, a social reformer and a psycho-therapist and at the same time the flexibility manifested in his/her pragmatic half of her-his being, at the same time both a military commander (Leader) and a member of a guerrilla band (follower). So that the general make-up of the new American guerrilla is that he-she is the highest personification of flexibility in all spheres of both thought and action.

One thing that the new guerrilla must always do is to study the enemy from all aspects, especially psychologically. From knowing the enemy and from understanding the culture of her-his capitalistic environment. I find that they are motivated, by and large, by sexism and many times they covertly (sometimes overtly) break down to various situations when persuaded by sexual influence. From the invaluable information drawn from Papa's book (Soul on Ice), an accurate understanding significant to the general sexual behavior patterns of the enemy's camp is explicitly manifested in the chapter "The Primal Idiots". The image of omnipotent administrator-escapist and delinquent because of his abdication and repudiation of his body... so that his woman is required to incite and project... ultrafemininity... But in his eyes, for confirmation of his masculinity his attention is attracted... to sexually exploit the potent bodies of the classes beneath him.

The enemy is highly vulnerable to the tactics of revolutionary women: thus the woman's role in our struggle is a major weapon that's not only capable of weakening the enemy's strength but also strengthening the alienated minds of the supermasculine menial that's so rampant in the slavequarters. The righteous role of the new guerrilla

women must not only depend on the few they find a picture of the new female guerrilla, but she is also composed of that image of femininity based on the strong self-reliant attributes of the Amazon. And from that base, she can really flex.

In knowing ourselves in relation to this matter, we have to maintain at the forefront of our minds that our struggle is one that is based on righteousness and truthfulness. I thought it necessary to say that because within the confines of our revolutionary struggle, that subject has become palpable that the best of our comrades (primarily males) have been known to prevaricate when confronted with it. In observing the intricacies of our camp, one of the most detrimental acts realizes itself on the form of what I call "personal opportunism", and is primarily perpetuated by those "supermasculine menials" acting in the manner of his subconscious (sometimes conscious) idol-the unimportant administrator. This supermasculine menial moves to an oppressive position of superiority in order to maintain the woman's attention and at the same time he incarnates her in his private pool of personal limitations. And when she attempts any initiative to exercise her pragmatic half, he blocks on her using the old familiar excuse: "Girl you ain't ready... you know how cold them pigs is... just get that shit outta ya mind and relate to dealing with the typig or them fund raisers." This among many detriments involved here prevents not only the development of that pragmatic ability necessary for the making of a complete guerrilla woman (enticing her to choose "that crown of Femininity based on the image of weakness, helplessness... ultrafemininity") but also it leads invariably to a gross collection of potential revolutionary women that are hung up in a soul dilemma of whether to continue to act in the manner exemplifying unrefemininity or to move on exercising fully her role in the revolution to which she's theretofore familiar.

That gross collection of women that I refer to are composed mainly of those whose main revolutionary mate has been killed by the enemy, captured by the enemy or just absconded.

The woman "left behind" having little or no practical understanding as to her complete role, falls right in stride with the counter-amazon collective and consequently into the lustful hands of more personal opportunists. The ratio of women to men increases rapidly and the lascivious personal opportunists instead of realizing the revolutionary potential there, selfishly advocates seraglio (the creation of a harem), justifying it through their semantic misinterpretation of communalism: taking it all out of perspective and placing it at the top of the priority list of political objectives. And that's just as contradictory to the dictates of the present political evaluations of our struggle as the deviations of cultural nationalism, for surely it obscures the minds of potential revolutionary warriors, the main objective at this time which is the realization of the new guerrilla, liberation of P.O.W.'s and establishing guerrilla base areas... People's war...

This is also a major tactic of the enemy and is effectuated for the most part by women provocateur agents that infiltrate the most potent areas in the camp of the Amazon and playing on the weakness of various male leaders, they use ultra-feminine methods to seduce him causing competition (temptationally based on ultra-femininity) to occur in the Amazon Camp. As I'apa said "competition is the law of the jungle-coordination is the law of civilization."

I strongly urge the many potential guerrilla women to move at once, rapidly achieving that integral part of the new warrior, that will allow you to stand-up as a true complete revolutionary, and join the ranks of the new guerrilla.

The many true Amazons I've met and observed in their dialectical development can best be described as the beauty of dynamics. For the purpose of security there need not be any names mentioned, but the standard can be explicitly typified in our most acute and delinquent comrade Enka Huggins in view of her completely dialectical relationship with our shining stars, John and Bunchy and all her comrades. This typifies also in her immediate progressive response reflecting the leadership traits of her main revolutionary mate and comrades both in theory and practice: also the concentration of the enemy on destroying her; also her acceptance of that crown of femininity based on the self-

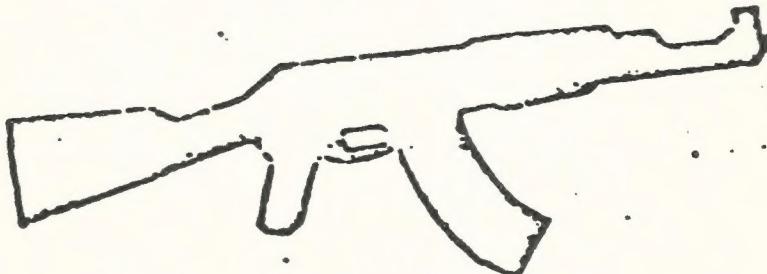
reliant strong Amazon while only familiarizing herself with the character of the ultra-feminine attributes of warfare. I could emphasize all day on the many attributes that our Queen has made manifest the realization of the new guerrilla woman, for she is undoubtedly a living example of the role of the woman in warfare in Amerikkka.

Sister Angela Davis is no doubt a potential revolutionary guerrilla and from my personal knowledge of her, I understand clearly the many contributions she has made to our struggle in the political arena. But to understand what I'm saying here, we have to accept the realities of the situation and not compromise the politico-military standard exemplified so beautifully in comrade Erika Huggins. Comrade Bernadine Dorn, Comrade Leila Khaled and many guerrilla Amazons of their caliber in our struggle for freedom.

The primary reason for my expounding on the Woman's role is because I truly believe that their efforts in this direction will be the decisive factor in the success of many of our campaigns and surely the spark that starts a prarie fire in the hearts, souls and minds of those brothers that cling so selfishly and blindly to the venomous ideology of this moribund fascist society--that blazing fire that will burn to ashes, those seemingly incurable ties that bind them to that old backwards victorian culture; thus releasing whole, completely, resolutely and once and for all, our vast reservoir of potential revolutionary warriors here in Babylon. That lies in your hands, Sister Love. Please don't fail humanity.

I think it's most clear to every one that the European Hegemony spearheaded by the wicked Amerikkkan Empire is the main perpetrator of the most atrocious, preclusive world crimes and, for sure, Enemy No. 1 of all righteous peace loving peoples. There has been much rhetoric and plenty pretty words expressed in behalf of war-torn victims of the Fascist Hegemony. Some advocate Pan-Africanism, others Pan-Vietnamism or Pan-Pan. Obviously to "Pan" their way cowardly out of Amerikkka.

Pan Obviously to "Pan" their way cowardly out of Amerikkka.
But it is obvious to a fool that the most effective and major decisive strategic base is here in the enemy's camp. Our part here is to rip it to pieces; exploding our bomb of oppression-repression right in this master's heart, not only destroying it's existance but also making sure that it has no fertile seeds that could develop into more war-babies to supply and support that vast hegemony of immorality. So we identify and sympathize wholeheartedly with all peace loving peoples of the Earth who are determined to off the serinously sadistic yoke of that vulgarian hegemony. And we see ourselves as your dialectical comrades of the Earth in Arms against the same old motherfucker. The criterion for our enlistment into the ranks of the Cosmopolitan Guerrillas shall be based on our actions in aiding you and ourselves to cause the enemy to finally bite the dust-The Dust of Death-





Since the start of this pamphlet Paul Redd, Will Stafford and Geronimo have been bailed out by the courts. They have been given 1 to 5 and 2 to 5 year sentences. G. has 2 more trumped-up cases coming up very soon, for murder and possession of explosive devices. He is in desperate need of cash money for a lawyer.

PLEASE SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

Free Geronimo
Defense Fund
P.O. Box 26504

Los Angeles, Cal. 90026